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ABSTRACT

Municipal ownership and operation of radio stations, an interesting but forgotten variant approach to radio that flourished in the 1920s, is discussed in this paper. Specifically, it examines WPG in Atlantic City, New Jersey, the first and in many ways the most interesting example of municipal ownership of radio. WPG's operations are recounted from its first organizational meetings in 1922 until the city sold the station in 1939. Personal interviews and reviews of private papers indicate factors that contributed to the station's development and demise. Other sections of the paper discuss the type of programing that WPG broadcast, including information about black programing and black performers. (RL)

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W P G Atlantic City: A Forgotten Chapter In The History of Broadcasting

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W P G Atlantic City: A Forgotten Chapter In the History of Broadcasting

I. History

The period from 1920 to 1925, the first five years of radio broadcasting in the United State, was a time of incredible growth and widespread experimentation. As a recent history of broadcasting points out, the pioneer era ended with the present pattern of privately owned and commercially supported radio well established.[1] This essay deals with an interesting but forgotten variant approach to radio that flourished in the twenties but failed to make it into the forties.

Municipal ownership and operation of radio stations survives even today with W N Y C in New York as its best known example, but W P G in Atlantic City was the first and in many ways the most interesting example. By definition all three letter stations are pioneers in radio, but the genesis of W P G goes back to 1922. In December of that year a meeting was held to discuss the possibility of the city establishing a radio station for the purpose of broadcasting the many events taking place in the town. An annonymous donor put up $1,000 to initiate funding and Mayor Edward Bader appointed hotel owner Sam P. Leeds to head an investigating committee and report back to him.[2]

In March of 1923 Leeds reported to Mayor Bader that the city should proceed to apply for a broadcasting station and that the sentiment was to locate the station on the Steel Pier, the largest

of the oceanfront amusement piers.[3] The city government seems to have acted with some alacrity because the station went on the air on January 3, 1925[4] some seventeen months later. The station had been assigned to 1100 K.C. by the then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover late in 1923, and went on the air with a transmitter designed and built by Westinghouse with 500 watts power.[5]

The original studios and offices were located in three unused rooms in the new Atlantic City Senior High School building. Former chief announcer Harold Stevens says this was done to reduce costs and to utilize the High School auditorium and its excellent pipe organ. Stevens began with the station as an organist and vocalist and recalls the organ concerts as a programming staple in the early days of the station.[6]

The total cost of the nation's first taxpayer owned radio station was reported to be $13,226.61 and its first transmitter and antenna were located behind the local police station.[7] The transmitter and antenna were later moved to the local airport when the station's power was increased to 5,000 watts. Probably the use of the police station site resulted from the fact that the city commissioners lacking any precedent decided to assign the station to the Public Safety Commissioner, William S. Cuthbert. This led to a rather unique situation, in that Commissioner Cuthbert decided to treat the station employees like the other members of the public safety department, the police and firemen, and issued them official caps and badges with the station call letters, W P G, emblazoned upon them in gold.[8]

The station was an immediate success. The local paper reported that telegrams poured in indicating that W P G had been received at such distant points as Arizona, the Yukon Territory in Canada, and aboard the S.S. Montgomery in the English Channel.[9] Letters of appreciation were later received from the American minister to Honduras, hurricane victims in Florida, and from Argentina and Australia commending W P G for its programs.[10] The latter communications were received after the station had increased its power to 5,000 watts and errected twin towers on Thoroughfare Bay at a cost of $54,000 in June of 1926.[11]

From its inception, the station was intended to publicize Atlantic City as a pleasure and health resort, consequently the city fathers were well pleased with both the range and response of W P G. The call letters themselves were part of that pattern. Atlantic City had been known for many years as "the Playground"[12] and according to former city publicity director Louis Cunningham, Mayor Bader simply decided to adapt that slogan to the requirement that the call letters begin with a "W" and thus coined a new slogan; Atlantic City - the World's Playground.[13]

Not only was W P G widely received but it appears to have been well-liked by the listening public. There were of course no rating services in the 1920's, but Radio Fan magazine conducted a survey of its readers in 1927 to find the ten best-liked radio stations in the United States. The top ten stations were reported to be:[14]

1. W J Z, New York, N.B.C. Blue Network
2. W E A F, New York, N.B.C. Red Network
3. K D K A, Pittsburgh, Westinghouse
4. W L S, Chicago, Sears Roebuck
5. W G Y, Schectedy, New York, General Electric
6. W B B M, Chicago, C.B.S.
7. W P G, Atlantic City, Municipal
8. K F L, Los Angeles
9. W B Z, Springfield, Massachusetts, Westinghouse
10. W O C, Davenport, Iowa

In the summer of 1925 W P G established its first "network" connection when it was linked to WI P in Philadelphia by a direct line so that W I P could carry programs originated by the shore station.[15] By this time W P G had established a summer studio on the Steel Pier and operated a total of ten remote pickup points around the city. The programming consisted of hotel and night club orchestras for the most part, but also included the Steel Pier Minstrels and at least one broadcast by a diver walking along the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. Remote broadcasting had begun on W P G in January of 1925 as a result of a dispute with the American Federation of Musicians who had demanded that musicians be paid $5.00 for broadcasts made from the W P G studios. The station dealt with the problem by resorting to live remote pickups of the musicians from their regular places of employment.[16] It is entirely possible that this was the origin of remote broadcasting. Extensive research has failed to uncover any earlier mention of remote broadcasting.

Early in its history W P G was plagued with the problem of defining its role and purpose. One faction wanted the station to continue to be a vehicle to advertise and publicize the resort to a national and international audience. The other side wanted the station to render local public service. In October of 1926 the local paper proposed holding a referendum during the forthcoming election to determine station policy.[17] While no direct relationship can be established, in the spring of 1928 W P G began to sell advertising time to local merchants, and began to broadcast news bulletins from the local newspapers.[18] Both an advertising contract and a script for the program "Sea Memories" sponsored by the Colton Manor Hotel beginning on June 19, 1928, support that date for the start of local advertising.[19]

In May of 1929 the station moved its offices and studios into new and spacious quarters in the just completed Atlantic City Convention Hall. There were two large studios, a control room, a reception room from which guests could view the broadcasting, and office space. The area was designed and decorated in an elaborate Spanish style reminiscent of the twenties. Although the station went off the air in 1939, its former studio space is now utilized by a local cable television operation for studios, offices, control room, and storage space. The writer was given a guided tour of the area in the summer of 1978. Some concept of size can be gained from the fact that the old W P G radio studios proved to be ample in size for television operations.

Since travel and vacations are a discretionary item and one of the first to be cut back in an emergency, the financial panic of 1929 and the subsequent great depression of the 1930's hit Atlantic City especially hard. Although radio tended to prosper during the depression era, and W P G was operating at about the break-even point, the city commissioners became anxious about decreasing city operating costs and leased the station to C.B.S. in 1930.[20] That company was primarily concerned with W P G as a source of popular remote big band shows and made no changes in the local staff or operations aside from programming its prime time shows on the station.[21]

The action of C.B.S. in leasing the city owned station in 1930 may seem incomprehensible today and merits some explanation. In the first place W P G held a valuable and unique frequency allocation and had, as previously noted, enormous range, especially after sundown. As a local newspaper pointed out, W P G was the only independent non-network station in the eastern part of the country to obtain a clear channel when the Federal Radio Commission had completed its reorganization of radio station frequency allocations.[22] The daytime use of the frequency was shared with W L W L, a church station in New York City. To avoid twilight interference, W P G had to cease broadcasting from 6:00-8:00 p.m. every evening while the New York station was required to go off the air at 7:59 p.m. In 1929 W P G mounted a successful protest before the Federal Radio Commission against the application of K W S C at Washington State College to broadcast on the same frequency. It would appear that even at that point certain frequen-

cies, including 110 kc, had become a sort of unofficial ghetto for non-commercial broadcasters.[23]

When you add the popularity of W P G with listeners to the range and clear night time channel; and consider the 1930 status of C.B.S. as a weak and marginal third place network, the leasing of W P G seems understandable. Columbia Broadcasting mounted an intensive campaign to develop W P G as a commercial operation. A sixteen page, glossy paper, promotional booklet was issued to sell the station to national advertisers.[24] According to Harold Stevens, who was both an announcer and a time salesman during the years of C.B.S. operation, the station operated at about the break even point. Stevens says that C.B.S. retained the entire local staff and added some of its New York people to supervise. Those extra costs plus the annual rental fee to the City of Atlantic City kept the station from being profitable.[25] Also, C.B.S. executives may have anticipated that the new Federal Communications Commission just coming into existence in 1934 would not approve of a continuation of its lease of a city-owned radio station. When the lease expired in 1935, it was not renewed by C.B.S. but W P G continued to be a C.B.S. affiliate until it was sold in 1939.

Both former announcer-salesman Harold Stevens and former chief engineer George Pepper agree that despite the depression of the 1930's, W P G operated with modest profits each year.[26] Their recall is supported by local newspaper articles, but the paper concludes that those profits were wiped out by depreciation.[27]

However at that time, 1938, the Atlantic City Press was involved in an editorial campaign against continued city operation of the station. It should also be noted that two years after W P G was sold and went off the air, the Press began operation of its own radio station, W B A B. which became a C.B.S. affiliate.

During most of 1938 the future of W P G was a major topic of editorial comment in the local newspapers. Albert Zugsmith, the editor of the Atlantic City Daily World, opposed the sale of W P G; he argued that the resort received at least a half-million dollars worth of free publicity from the station, and that a sale of the station would harm resort business. He also offered to take over the operation of the station and the liability for its losses.[28] The older and more conservative Atlantic City Press took a position in favor of free enterprise private operation of broadcasting and the preventing of greater burdens on the taxpayers.[29] At no time during this running editorial debate did the Press indicate that it was planning to operate a local radio station if the city government were to sell W P G.

The sale of the station for $275,000 was finally consummated in the spring of 1938 with the station to conclude broadcasting at the end of the year.[30] The newspaper accounts did not encompass the total story of the sale of a unique and successful municipal broadcasting operation. That story came from the man who had negotiated the sale of W P G, Abner J. Gelula, who was still semi-active as a public relations counselor in Atlantic City some forty years later. Gelula says that Arde Bulova, the watch manufacturer

and pioneer broadcaster, contacted him in 1937 with a plan to swap a channel he owned in New York for W P G's frequency plus $275,000 in cash. Bulova had acquired W L W L in New York as well as several other stations, and wanted W P G in order to have a high powered clear channel station in New York City. Bulova knew that the W P G twin transmitting towers had been damaged in a hurricane in 1937, and that its antique transmitter was in need of modernization. His plan was to offer Atlantic City both the frequency and the money to continue to operate a less powerful but modernized radio station.[31] If Bulova's plans were successful he would be the owner of two stations in New York City and thus need to sell or move one out of the city; thus he was more than willing to arrange a swap-purchase with Atlantic City to obtain the valuable W P G frequency.

Gelula began his negotiations with the city government with the assumption that Bulova's W O V frequency in New York would be traded for the W P G frequency plus some cash, he believed that only the cash involved would need to be negotiated. He admitted leaking the negotiation information to the Atlantic City Press in the hope of obtaining the paper's editorial support, an effort in which he was successful. Much to Gelula's surprise Mayor Charles D. White indicated a desire to accept the Bulova offer, but he did not want the W O V frequency since he was opposed to municipal operation of business enterprises. Mayor White and the city commissioners did not bargain for more money, but did stipulate that the offer to swap the W O V frequency for W P G's not be disclosed. Since forty years had passed and none of the parties to the agreement were alive, Gelula was willing to discuss the details of the deal for the first time.[32]

It was Gelula's opinion that the sale of the station had been a mistake and not accepting the transfer of W O V had been a compounding of the original error. He pointed out that the station resulting from the sale of W P G became W N E W which he valued at least 25 million in 1978, and that W O V was moved to Buffalo, New York, where it became a valuable property. Gelula estimated that had the city retained and operated W P G it would have been worth at least ten million dollars by 1978.[33] The writer would not dispute either Abner Gelula's opinion nor his estimates.

George Pepper who was chief engineer of W P G at the time the station was sold was not aware of the details of the sale or of the Bulova offer to trade frequencies. Pepper believed that the 1937 hurricane which destroyed the station's unique twin tower "flat top" antenna was a crucial factor in the decision to sell the station. He said that the F.C.C. would not permit the station to rebuild the antenna system even if the city had had the funds to restore it. The replacement tower did not give the station anything near its previous range. That factor, the antique Westinghouse transmitter, and the interference from the greatly increased number of stations resulted in limiting the range of the station to the state of New Jersey, plus nearby New York and Philadelphia. Pepper also believed that by 1938 listeners were no longer fascinated with picking up distant stations. All of this meant that W P G no longer functioned as a national and international voice for the city. But Pepper felt that the city should have remained in broadcasting because it could still obtain coast-to-coast publicity for the city

as an origination point for network remotes of big band music and special events. Pepper agreed with Abner J. Gelula that the city should have accepted the proposed trading of frequencies with Bulova. Pepper also mentioned Mayor Charles D. White's lack of enthusiasm for radio and pointed out that the White family owned Marlborough-Blenhiem Hotel was the only major hotel in Atlantic City not serving as an origination point for the broadcasting of the music of its house orchestra. In 1979 as this paper was being written the old Marlborough-Blenhiem was in the process of being demolished for a new casino hotel to be errected by the Bally Manufacturing Company.

II. Programming

The mainstay of the station's programming was music, this in itself was not unusual but the circumstances of the time and place provided W P G with a unique opportunity to present musical programs and the opportunity was fully exploited. In the 1920's Atlantic City was living through its golden age[34] although few of its residents or visitors could have known that. New luxury hotels were going up and the city was becomming a major tryout town for Broadway and a show business mecca.

The Miss America Pageant which is still a successful media event, was begun in the 1920's as a way of extending the summer season a week after Labor Day. Excellent rail facilities and good roads including the first lighted highway in the country made the resort accessible to New York or Philadelphia by a journey of two hours or less. This proximity made the nightclub and speakeasies of Atlantic City part

of the entertainment scene of the two largest cities on the east coast.[35] This situation provided W P G with a considerable pool of talent to draw upon and much use was made of this talent.

A newspaper story of that era lists connections for remote broadcasts on a nightly schedule at such points as the Traymore Hotel, Young's Million Dollar Pier, the Hotel Ambassador where Paul Whiteman led the house orchestra, Hotel Chelsea, The Chalfonte-Haddon Hall, Follies Bergere Caberet, Silver Slipper Supper Club, Hotel Shelbourne, the Atlantic City Casino, The Steel Pier, site of a summer studio, and the Hotel Morton.[36]

An examination of station schedules and newspaper accounts turned up a long list of musical luminaries who performed on W P G including Isham Jones and his orchestra, Ted Weems, Al Jolson, Rudy Vallee, Ruby Keeler, Joan Blondell, Dorothy Lamour, Shep Fields, Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, Tommy Tucker, Sammy Kaye, and Guy Lombardo. Another popular type of programming was the interviewing of stars and other celebrities appearing or visiting in the resort. One interview which attracted much attention was with Rudolph Valentino in 1926. It was apparently his last public appearance before his untimely demise.[37] Other names of that era abound including Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York, George White of Broadway fame, Sam Goldwyn, and Edwin Franko Goldman, the march king. The hostess for most of these talk shows was Ethel Rattay who was also the publicity director of the station.[38] The station schedules also show the usual standbys of the era such as vocal recitals, organ concerts, farm news, market

quotations, news flashes, time, and weather forecast[illegible]he usual broadcast day was noon to midnight but this was extended later, although for several years the station had to go off the air from 6:00-8:00 because of time-sharing regulations.

Another category carried by W P G might be designated as special events or stunts. For many years the station's trademark was the roar of the surf heard at sign-on, sign-off, and during many station breaks. According to former chief engineer George Pepper, the actual sound of the waves breaking on the beach at Atlantic City was used for the first six months or so, but then they discovered that an excellent facsimilie of the roar of the ocean surf could be obtained by gradually increasing the volume of an old carbon microphone. Pepper had the microphone used in his collection of antique radio equipment and demonstrated how it was done.[39] From its inception, W P G made great use of station identification times to advertise its owner and chief advertising client, the City of Atlantic City. For the 1920's it was quite modern and extremely hard sell. Typically, after hearing the roar of the surf the listeners would be invited to come down to Atlantic City and take a swim and stroll the boardwalk of the World's Play Ground.

Many other stunts were of promotional value for the resort; a broadcast was made featuring a diver walking along the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean and giving a fish-by-fish account of the sights, or an announcer might describe the denizens of the deep brought up in the fishing nets at Young's Million Dollar Pier. Another innovation

by W P G was the initial broadcast of the Miss America Beauty pageant. During the winter season when there were fewer events to broadcast, items like church services and choirs, and broadcasts of local sports events are found on the schedule. There was also a regular round of dramas and "sketches" produced by local theater groups. In general W P G seems to have had an imaginative staff which took full advantage of the talent available in a resort atmosphere and seemed to be willing to try new approaches to capturing audience attention. The first general manager Edwin Spence eventually became an executive with the National Association of Broadcasters; his successor Norman Reed later became general manager of WWDC in Washington, D.C., and Norman Brokenshire served as a staff commentator. All of the surviving staff members interviewed commented on the lively atmosphere of the station and remarked on how greatly they enjoyed working there.[40]

III. Black Programming

A reader may search the early history of American radio in vain for information about black programming or performers. References prior to 1940 are simply non-existent.[41] Amos and Andy were great favorites in radio's infancy, but they were white former minstrel show performers presenting stereotypes of blacks who existed only in the minds of white listeners. W P G presented the Steel Pier minstrels but the performers were always whites such as Abbott and Costello, and Dick Dana. There were special circumstances which should have given rise to black programming on W P G.

W P G was taxpayer owned and supported in a city which had the greatest percentage of black residents in the nation outside of the deep South. Funnell reports that as early as 1905 the black population of Atlantic City 23.5 percent. By way of comparison, Newark, New Jersey was 3 percent black and New York City was only 1.6 percent black.[42] My basic informant on black programming estimated the black population of Atlantic City in the 1920's at 30 percent and climbing toward the present black majority.[43] Unlike the South of that era the blacks of Atlantic City were registered voters and also an important voting block in the local machine politics of that period.[44]

Chris Columbus, who was leader of the house orchestra at the Paradise Club in the twenties and later at the famed Club Harlem where he was holding forth when interviewed in 1978, recalled both the black programming offered by W P G and the black talent not broadcast by the municipal radio station. He could recall only two types of programs, gospel music, usually sung by the choirs of black churches, and broadcasts of black sports events.[45] The station schedules and the reports of surviving staff members both support the accuracy of his memory of the events of forty to fifty years ago.[46] The sports broadcasts were mostly of the premier American past time, baseball. Atlantic City was the home of a renowned team in the Negro Major League, the Bachrach Black Giants, sponsored by former Atlantic City Mayor and Congressman, Harry Bachrach.

Since the team was both a winner and the only local professional baseball franchise, it was quite popular with local baseball fans and visitors. Other sports events broadcast included boxing and wrestling from the Waltz Dream Arena. Chris Columbus' considered opinion was that the sports broadcasts were presented because of interest in the events by white listeners rather than as a service to the black community. On the matter of the broadcasting of gospel music, he commented that many years ago he had concluded that the acceptability of black church music throughout the country was based on the fact that you could not fight very well when you were down on your knees singing and praying.[47]

Columbus, who became in 1940, in so far as he knows, the first black disc jockey in the country on another local radio station in Atlantic City, gave a complete account of his efforts to arrange broadcasts in the twenties and thirties of both his own band and those of other black performers. In the twenties he was unable to get Broadway singer and actor Bert Williams on the air on W P G. His scrap book is an honor roll of all of the great black night club performers during the lifetime of W P G, yet he had no success in his efforts. He pointed out that remote pickups from other local night clubs such as the Silver Slipper, the Atlantic City Casino, and the Twenty-Two Club were routine, but he never could make the needed connections. But Columbus concluded on an upbeat note that he had lived long enough to see a black-owned radio station, W U S S, on the air in Atlantic City while W P G was gone and forgotten.[48]

In answer to the question - why? Columbus responded simply that in those days no one even gave a second thought to black performers or programs. "No one even thought of complaining", he said, "that was just the way it was."[49] While Funnell does not deal with W P G or radio in any way in his discussion of Blacks as both residents and visitors in Atlantic City, he does offer some insight. He quotes the Washington Post in 1910 complaining:

> of the way local blacks by the hundreds were invading the bathing districts "heretofore patronized by the best visitors." Conditions were similarly lax off the beach. "After the colored waiter serves his master's supper he can go out and elbow him on the Boardwalk, crowd him in the cars, or drink at the very next table to him in almost any cafe."[50]

In view of that quotation which is only one of many examples cited by Funnell, it seems clear that a resort community like Atlantic City was simply in no position to pioneer in black programming on a city-operated radio station in the twenties and the thirties. Looking back a half-century later we can understand even if we cannot approve.

IV. Conclusion

While W P G was the first radio station licensed to and operated by a city government in the United States, it seems to have become a forgotten first in the history of the medium. Possibly this happened because the station went off the air in 1939, a time prior to the more recent development of a serious interest and appreciation for broadcasting history. On the other hand, fourteen years of pioneering and successful operation do merit our study. This examination

of the operations of an unusual radio station does present convincing evidence that a governmental unit could operate a station that was popular with listeners and able to compete for its place in the spectrum.

It appears to have been a lively station with a good sound and high staff morale, sufficiently strong to have attracted the interest of the Columbia Broadcasting System. W P J deserves at least to be remembered by students of radio history.

ENDNOTES

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1 Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting, (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1978), p. 91.

2 Atlantic City Press, December 16, 1922.

3 Atlantic City Press, March 22, 1923.

4 Atlantic City Press, January 4, 1925

5 Personal interview with George Pepper, (Former chief engineer of W P G.) July 24, 1978, Newfield, New Jersey.

6 Personal interview with Harold Stevens, (Former W P G announcer and salesman.) July 18, 1978, Brigantine, New Jersey.

7 Atlantic City Press, January 4, 1925.

8 Personal Interview with George Pepper, July 24, 1978.

9 Atlantic City Press, January 6, 1925.

10 Atlantic City Press, September 30, 1926.

11 Atlantic City Press, June 12, 1926.

12 Charles E. Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea: The Rise and High Times of That Great American Resort, Atlantic City, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975),

13 Personal Interview with Louis Cunningham, (Former Publicity Director for Atlantic City.) July 24, 1978.

14 Atlantic City Press, May 27, 1927.

15 Atlantic City Press, June 23, 1925.

16 Atlantic City Press, June 8, 1925.

17 Atlantic City Press, October 25, 1926.

18 Personal interview with Harold Stevens, July 18, 1978.

19 Personal papers of Ethel Rattay former publicity director, staff writer, and interviewer of W P G. These papers were reviewed through the courtesy and cooperation of her daughter, Ethel Rattay Hillary.

20 Personal interview with George Pepper, July 24, 1978.

21 Personal interview with Harold Stevens, July 18, 1978.

22 Atlantic City Press, September 11, 1928.

23 Atlantic City Press, September 26, 1929.

24 Ethel Rattay papers.

25 Personal interview with Harold Stevens, July 18, 1978.

26 Personal interviews with Harold Stevens and George Pepper.

27 Atlantic City Press, February 17, 1938.

28 Atlantic City Daily World, December 1, 1938.

29 Atlantic City Press, November 24, 1938.

30 Atlantic City Press, June 27, 1938.

31 Personal interview with Abner J. Gelula, July 26, 1978.

32 Personal interview with Abner J. Gelula, July 26, 1978.

33 Personal interview with Abner J. Gelula, July 26, 1978.

34 Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea.

35 Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, pp. 146-147.

36 Atlantic City Press, July 29, 1928.

37 Ethel Rattay papers.

38 Ethel Rattay papers.

39 Personal interview with George Pepper, July 24, 1978.

40 Personal interview with Harold Stevens and George Pepper.

41 Sterling and Kittross, Stay Tuned, and see such books as: Archer L. Gleason, History of Radio to 1926, Erik Barnouw, A Tower in Babel, and The Golden Web; Sydney W. Head, Broadcasting in America and Lawrence Lichty and Malachi Topping, American Broadcasting.

[42] Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, p. 15.

[43] Personal interview with Chris Columbus, conductor of house orchestra at the Club Harlem, July 20, 1978.

[44] Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea.

[45] Personal interview Chris Columbus, July 20, 1978.

[46] Personal interview with Harold Stevens and George Pepper, Ethel Rattay Papers.

[47] Personal interview with Chris Columbus, July 20, 1978.

[48] Personal interview with Chris Columbus, July 20, 1978.

[49] Personal interview with Chris Columbus, July 20, 1978.

[50] Funnell, By the Beautiful Sea, pp. 14-16 and 29-31.